

Message Text

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INFO SECDEF WASHDC
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C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 8500

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: RO, YO, UR
SUBJECT: (A FEW) ROMANIAN COMMENTS
ON POST-TITO YUGOSLAVIA

REF: BUCHAREST 8485

1. SUMMARY: QUERIED BY CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ ON POST-TITO YUGOSLAV PROSPECTS AND SOVIET INTENTIONS, SENIOR ROMANIAN OFFICIALS RESPONDED IN GINGERLY FASHION, STRESSING COMMON YUGOSLAV AND ROMANIAN DEVOTION TO NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN AFFAIRS OF OTHERS, AND ROMANIAN EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT A WORLD WHERE INCENTIVES FOR INTER-FERENCE ARE PRACTICALLY NIL. DEFMIN COMAN AND GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT GIOSAN BOTH HIGHLIGHTED CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISION THAT ONLY GNA CAN APPROVE ENTRY OF FOREIGN TROOPS INTO ROMANIA FOR EITHER STATIONING OR TRANSMIT, AND GIOSAN VOLUNTEERED "PERSONAL OPINION" THAT TITO'S SUCCESS IN GIVING ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION IN FEDERAL STATE AND PARTY ORGANS TO

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ALL REPUBLICS AND MAJOR REGIONS MADE HIM OPTIMISTIC ON PROSPECTS FOR NATIONAL INTEGRITY AFTER TITO. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING NOV 14-16 VISIT TO ROMANIA, CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ OF NEW YORK QUERIED FOLLOWING ROMANIAN OFFICIALS INTENSIVELY CONCERNING POST-TITO POLITICAL PROSPECTS IN YUGOSLAVIA, SOVIET REACTIVITY AND ROMANIAN CONTINGENCY ATTITUDES:

DEFENSE MINISTER COLONEL-GENERAL ION COMAN (NOV 15), GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT NICOLAE GIOSAN AND MFA DIRECTORATE I (SOCIALIST COUNTRIES) DIRECTOR ION CIUBOTARU (BOTH NOV 16). SPECIAL FOCUS WAS ON WHAT SOVIETS LIKELY TO DO IF YUGOSLAVIA MOVED OUT OF NON-ALIGNED POSTURE TOWARD WEST OR LIBERALIZED POLITICAL SYSTEM SO AS TO THREATEN HEGEMONY OF LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS (I.E., ANALOGIES TO 1956 AND 1968).

3. DISCUSSIONS WITH COMAN AND CIUBOTARU ON YUGOSLAV TOPICS PROVIDED CONGRESSMAN WITH WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS HITHERTO UNFAMILIAR EXAMPLES OF HOW TO TALK PERSISTENTLY AROUND A SUBJECT IN FRIENDLY AND EVEN GENIAL FASHION. THEY STRESSED COMMON YUGOSLAV AND ROMANIAN DEVOTION TO INDEPENDENCE AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, PROFESSED CONFIDENCE IN CONTINUED YUGOSLAV DEVOTION TO INDEPENDENCE AFTER TITO, SHIED AWAY FROM SPECULATION ON FUTURE CONTINGENCIES, AND DESCRIBED AT CONSIDERABLE LENGTH ROMANIAN EFFORTS TO HELP BRING ABOUT A WORLD WHERE DETENTE IS THE NORM AND QUESTION OF INTERVENTION IN AFFAIRS OF OTHERS DOES NOT ARISE. THEY ALSO MADE STRONG PITCH FOR U.S. SUPPORT FOR CONCRETE DIS-ARMAMENT MEASURES IN CSCE AND AT UN SSOD NEXT YEAR.

4. ABOUT THE ONLY SEMI-STRAIGHT ANSWER CONGRESSMAN GOT FROM COMAN WAS STATEMENT THAT WHILE ROMANIA WAS AND IS OPPOSED TO TROOP STATIONING BY ANYONE ON ANYONE ELSE'S TERRITORY, IN ROMANIAN CASE CONSTITUTION NOW PROVIDES SPECIFICALLY THAT ONLY CONFIDENTIAL

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GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CAN APPROVE ENTRY OF FOREIGN TROOPS INTO ROMANIA. GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT GIOSAN EXPLAINED THAT THIS APPLIES ALSO TO TRANSIT OF FOREIGN TROOPS, ADDING THAT ROMANIA HAD TOO MUCH EXPERIENCE WITH TROOPS WHICH ENTERED TO TRANSIT AND THEN STAYED ON.

5. GIOSAN WAS SLIGHTLY MORE EXPANSIVE THAN OTHER TWO: AFTER COMMENTING WITH A SMILE THAT THE REAL ANSWER TO CONGRESSMAN'S QUESTION IS THAT ROMANIA IS OPPOSED TO INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHERS, HE VOLUNTEERED HIS "PERSONAL OPINION," BASED ON NUMEROUS PARLIAMENTARY TRIPS TO YUGOSLAVIA, MOST RECENTLY IN 1975. AS HE SAW IT, TITO HAS SUCCEEDED IN ASSURING ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION FOR ALL REPUBLICS AND MAJOR AREAS IN FEDERAL STATE AND PARTY ORGANS, AND THIS SUCCESS PROVIDES GROUNDS FOR OPTIMISM CONCERNING NATIONAL INTEGRITY AFTER TITO. IN ANY EVENT, HE KNEW OF NOTHING WHICH SUGGESTS THAT YUGOSLAVS ARE ANY LESS DEVOTED TO NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE NOW THAN THEY HAVE BEEN IN THE PAST; IF THEY SUCCEEDED IN MAINTAINING IT IN THE RALLY HARD DAYS OF THE PAST, THERE IS NO REASON WHY THEY SHOULD BE EXPECTED TO GIVE IT UP NOW OR IN THE FUTURE.

6. COMMENT: CONGRESSMAN COMMENTED AT ONE POINT THAT TO SAY
COMAN WAS BEING PRUDENT WOULD BE TO CREDIT HIM WITH A DEGREE
OF CANDOR WHICH DID NOT EXIST, BUT HE ALSO SEEMED SATISFIED
AT THE END THAT THE CANDOR HE HAD BEEN HOPING FOR IN THE
BEGINNING WAS NOT REALLY IN THE CARDS.
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